1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

These persons, whom a man calls "brothers" and "sisters," remain in a special relationship to him throughout his life. As will be seen in the study of the village of Sawari (following chapter), "brothers" tend to group together to form a settlement and assist one another in social and economic affairs in the settlement. They support one another in feuds and retaliation. A woman's brothers support her against a cruel or lazy husband. In all activities the members of the group of parallel relatives cooperate more closely than do other relatives. Membership in the group begins at birth and continues for life. Due to the customs regulating residence after marriage, there is no necessary connection between locality and the kin.

The Extended Family. A third type of grouping is the extended family, the immediate family which is, in other words, extended by marriage of its members. When a girl marries, her husband becomes, for a time at least, intimately associated with her family, because of the custom requiring the husband to perform services before marriage under the eye of his future father-in-law and after marriage to live in the father-in-law's settlement, usually at least until the birth of the first child. Thus a family, upon the marriage of its daughters, from one point of view undergoes a special transformation consequent upon the addition of strangers in the persons of sons-in-law. The sons-in-law, however, do not take the place of the sons who through marriage have joined other extended families. The husbands of the daughters are not taken into the family, which still maintains its biological limits and individuality. This is shown by the fact that special deference is paid to parents-in-law. During the period that marriage remains matrilocal, the sons-in-law cooperate actively with the fathers-in-law and with other members of the latter's families who still remain at home. Later opportunity or preference usually impels the younger man to move elsewhere, but a bond still remains between the husband and his wife's kindred which is reflected in mutual cooperation. This bond is, however, slighter than that uniting a man and his parallel kin. With the death of the wife or of the father-in-law mutual obligations are considered ended.[1]

[1] "Among the Roucuyenne and Orinoko Caribs an extensive connection between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law has arisen which has led to a regular hierarchy of graded affinal relations." Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*, p. 189.

*177 592 621 not mature enough to have children. Two other clearings are inhabited by households of this type that have moved in from the more remote settlements. In both cases, the families of a man and his son-in-law have moved as a unit to the Air Strip.

The third category is still more complex. In these cases, larger numbers of people are present which contributes to the ambiguity of [166] household divisions. Four of these larger groups of relatives in a common clearing are clearly the result of the abandonment of the mine and the occurrence of new resources at the Air Strip. Kinsmen are temporarily allied for the move to the Air Strip from the mine as [596] well as from the more remote areas. These kinship groups are laterally extended. In two cases they are composed of the nuclear families of brothers as well as their sons and sons-in-law. In two other cases, the sons and sons-in-law of a single man and all their [484] wives and children are residing together. Among these groups, component units of a man and his wife and children often left on extended trips either to a more remote settlement or to Matthew's Ridge. Usually, this was because agricultural fields around the air strip were not yet productive.

*177 592 624 621 The two remaining examples in the third category are the clearings of the current Captain and the prominent Councillor. The Councillor is about fifty and has three wives of different ages. His household includes an adult son-in-law and son and his wives and [609] children. In addition, an old porknocker long resident among the Upper Barama River Caribs lives in the Councillor's clearing. 600 Holding office has served to extend the household of the current

Holding office has served to extend the household of the current Captain. He is about fifty and has two wives, one of whom he married as a widow and one who is very young. Extra adult members have been added by including a daughter of the older wife, and a daughter and granddaughter of the Captain's stepmother. They have all brought a son-in-law into this extended household. In this last case, as in all these residential arrangements, there is no promise of inheritance or other legacy beyond the situation to hold extended households together.

External resources have resulted in centralized settlements within which kinship groups residing in different clearings tend to be closed resource-sharing social units. For the most part, the clearings are inhabited by single households composed of extended families. In no case are individuals or young, childless couples living alone. Co-residence may be considered an index of extended cooperation and sharing of resources. Men who reside in the same clearing have partnerships in cultivated fields which along with hunting and gathering and occasional employment are the major sources of subsistence since the closing of the gold mine. The pattern of more extended reciprocity which existed prior to the availability of external resources has been changed. No longer is there any marked occurrence of the exchange of assistance among groups of men who are brothers or parallel cousins. In the cases in which adult brothers are in co-residence, usually their father is also present. Men in much more circumscribed relationships; i.e., father, son, son-in-law, now tend to cooperate in securing subsistence from local as well as external resources. Within the pattern of trans-generational recruitment,

others. That is, this population is encapsulated relative to access to regional transportation and communication and control of market opportunities. Limited regional markets including employment have been conveyed into the Upper Barama River area by non-Carib middlemen. As a consequence, a limited number of Caribs have become clients to middlemen patrons and have brought their sons or sons-in-law into an employment opportunity. In this manner, extended household organization in which a son or son-in-law and his family remain with the parents is one pattern of organization that is evident among the Upper Barama River Caribs.

There is one further note to make on the social organization of the Upper Barama River Caribs. That is, the instrumentality of the one type of local communication event has changed relative to shifts in the boundaries of the resource-sharing social unit. The cassiri spree provides for the institutionalized interaction of individuals through songs, dances, and other encounters. As Gillin observed it (1936:60-70,137-139), a spree was held by one man but participation tended to include the residents of one settlement, although strangers were usually welcomed. A program of activities was continued for several days until the supply of cassiri was exhausted. During this time individuals engaged in a formalized manner related in different ways to the people they saw almost continually. In addition, the event itself expressed the solidarity of the people participating. Less than total participation of the residents in a settlement was indicative of the strained relationships which were a prelude to the relocation of households.